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to the members of the younger generation. It is she indeed who is the most steady companion of the little ones and who naturally has the greatest influence over them; and in the case of girls, this companionship and influence continue for a comparatively long time.

C. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

With reference to vocational training, the Isneg, probably unconsciously aware of the fact that mere theoretical teaching rarely amounts to anything, have only one way of imparting knowledge in this line, namely, by showing how to do things. Nevertheless their children have two ways of getting it, by imitating what they see and by working under the direction of people who give them formal instruction. The two ways are rather sharply defined, some kinds of work being exclusively learned by imitation and practice, while others are first formally taught and shown and then practised. Before enumerating the different occupations of the Isneg, and stating whether they are practised by boys or by girls and whether they are learned by pure imitation or by formal instruction, I should like to make a few preliminary remarks.

In general it should be said that whenever there is question of formal instruction among the Isneg, a boy is taught exclusively by his father and a girl by her mother. Other persons take the place of the parents only in case of the latters' premature decease, and even then women confine their instruction to girls and men to boys. The reason of this separation of the sexes is not far to seek: every Isneg strictly keeps to the occupations commonly performed by his or her own sex, and so the children necessarily get their knowledge also from persons of their own sex. Recently I had a little conversation with an Isneg widower which very well illustrates the matter:

He: "I am a very poor man."

I: "Poor? How can you be poor when you have so much fertile soil at your disposition?"

He: "Yes, but I have no wife."

I: "Does that make any difference?" [I knew it did, of course, but I wanted to hear him tell me so].

He: "Well, certainly; I need a woman to till my fields."

I: "Now, is that a reason? Are you not healthy and strong enough to do that yourself?"

He: "How could I do that? Do you expect me to plant the seeds and grub up the weeds?"

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother
861 as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in
[869] order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax *(aliwa)* of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow;
[524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally. Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.

462 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
285 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the
868 work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
868 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their
184 tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

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And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*manusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábag*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

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Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowán*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowán* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bañálat*, the *kanúmay* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otán*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappód* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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with the choice of a patch of ground to be cleared for a future rice field, and ending with the storing up of the harvest in the granary.

1. PREPARING A RICE FIELD

The first arduous work that we have to consider is the clearing (*mañumá*) of a patch of ground in order to prepare it for a future rice field, and this is the exclusive work of the men.

The last days of February or, more generally, the month of March, is the time at which the Isneg usually commence this business. But to know the exact time of the year appropriate for this kind of work, the Isneg has a few *taximmatón* or signs of his own.

One of them is the appearance of the *bakákaw* or *limbakákaw*, a kind of low herb that is found almost anywhere and is easily noticed on account of its color, which is red throughout, flowers included. The Isneg call it "the sign of the coming of the year (*magdaxún*)", because the time of the first work that has to be done in the field is considered as the beginning of a new year.

Another sign, usually more conspicuous but less common, is the flowering of the *tablán* or coral tree (Erythrina sp.), that bears large scarlet papilionaceous flowers. When this tree is in full bloom, however, it is often considered as a *taximmatón* or sign for subsequent work, as will be seen in its proper place.

The *basiñalán*-tree also serves to announce the coming of the same season: when the native sees its leaves crumbling, he knows that the time has come for making the first preparation of the ground.

Some time before that, however, the Isneg will have been on the lookout for a favorable spot in which to start his prospective *kómān*. Formerly, of course, he had to choose a part of the forest, as originally the whole of Apayaw must have been covered with woods. But actually he may select a patch of ground, either in the forest (*rinúbāt*), which he rarely does on account of the difficulty of cutting down the big trees, or in the bushes (*sirāt*), mostly sections of the mountain slopes that have been cultivated in former years. On no account, however, is he allowed to pick out a former rice field that has not been abandoned for at least three consecutive years. And so, because rice is only planted once on the same field, the work of clearing the ground is always a more or less arduous task, which it would be hardly possible for a woman to perform; but, even though she could do it, custom forbids, and this work is the exclusive privilege or duty of her husband and sons.

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And so, after several days of hard work, perhaps interrupted occasionally by a holiday, in order to follow the rules laid down by his ancestors and the spirits, the Isneg finally reaches the upper end of his field, the *arpád*. Once there, he has to leave untouched a small section of his intended rice field, usually about one square yard, the *nańarpadán*. Later on, after a resting period of from three to five days, he is allowed to go and clear it with the rest (*pammalinán*, "to finish, to end").

The field is now *inumá*, which means that all the grasses, shrubs, canes of bamboo grass, saplings, etc. have been cut down: the first important work is done. It is for the sun now to do its part by drying up everything as soon as possible, man being a mere looker-on. This does not mean, however, that nothing has to be done before there is an opportunity for burning the *kómān*.

First of all, the farmer makes a survey of the *kómān* that is now in the *inumá*-state, carefully cutting down in the meanwhile anything that might have been overlooked, most especially at the center, the sides being of less importance: this is called *manábal*, a term that is also used for the finishing touch given by a woman to the rice field after it has been weeded.

After this comes the *tádaw* or the cutting down of all the branches of the trees that have been left standing in the field. The *lapát úlag* mentioned before forms really no exception to this rule, as it has no branches. The *taxímmatón* or sign for this work, which is usually performed some time in March, is the blooming of the *tablán* or coral tree, referred to under the *taxímmatón* of the preceding work, the *mańumá*. Another sign for the beginning of the *tádaw* is the *lumbá-*, a tree whose flowers are much sought after by honeybees: when the *lumbá-* begins to bear fruit, the Isneg knows that it is the *agtatádaw* or time for lopping the trees in his *inumá*.

This also, of course, is a man's work; but, because most all Isneg are able to climb any kind of tree, the work is not considered hard, provided there are a couple of good sharp hatchets ready at hand. The *kumilá*-tree, however, is usually left with its branches intact, because the boughs are very brittle and it is rather dangerous to climb the tree and cut them; but nothing prevents the Isneg from cutting it down in its entirety, at the time of the *mańumá*, provided it be not too large. The *kumilá* is very straight and its bark is fragrant; it rarely grows very thick, although it may reach a great height. In Dangla,

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243 the cutting of its branches, not the felling of the whole tree, is tabooed in the *kómăn*.

243 The spirits whom the farmer has to fear at this time of the year, 776 are *Dalípunáw* and his aid *Agpáw*, who are intent on killing people at the time of the *tádaw*.

Should the Isneg know of a tree where the spirit *Pinańgáw* has taken his abode, he must skip it and leave it intact; besides, even though he tried to lop (*magtádaw*) it, he would never be able to do so.

243 Anything that is left untouched, not cut, for any kind of reason, is called *pinuró-*. To leave any kind of plant standing in the *kómăn* is *purokán*.

[762] Almost immediately following the *tádaw*, we have the *maggańát*, also a man's job. This consists in cutting up the trunks of small trees and the large boughs that are strewn all over the field after the *tádaw*.

And now, at the first opportunity, the Isneg burns his field, *manidúg* or *sumi-dúg*. This of course mostly depends on the weather, because, if the grasses and canes are not thoroughly dry, they will hardly catch fire, and if the wind does not blow from the right direction, it is no use trying to start a blaze. Indeed, the fire is always started at the lower end of the *kómăn*, after which helped by the wind it creeps up the mountain slope devouring everything in its wake, and scorching (without destroying) all the neighboring parts of the forest and bushes, including the *naglatán* (or boundary of untouched bushes between two contiguous fields) mentioned before.

It is really an awe-inspiring and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle, when all around, as far as the eye can reach, the mountain slopes are converted into huge bonfires. At every gust of wind and whenever the flames have met some fresh heap of fuel more especially ready for the conflagration, the whole valley is filled with a crepitating and roaring noise intermittently brought to a climax by loud reports of bursting bamboos.

It is useless to say that this work, which again is a man's job, has to be planned and executed with the utmost care, not only to insure the best results, but also to prevent the burning of houses, granaries, orchards, gardens, etc., lest, besides bringing a blessing to the future rice field, it happen to be a curse to the neighbors and to the owner himself, who must repay his countrymen for all the damages wrought through his carelessness. Such a danger, however, is rather remote, as Apayaw is sparsely inhabited and the Isneg is usually an expert in the choice of a well-located field and in everything that pertains to

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burning of a heap of any kind of rubbish, whether in the field or in the house yard.

2. PLANTING RICE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING

The Isneg plant their rice in the months of May and June. But before that they have to prepare the seeds (*maxaggí-*), which is usually done at home by the women, and is a quite elaborate process, as will be seen anon.

The seeds (*aggí-*: a general name for seeds of rice, Indian corn, beans, peas, and the like) are simply the rice kernels shelled off from the ears. A mat (*abá-*), mostly an old one, is spread over the floor for the purpose; a few bundles of rice, the number varying with the amount of rice seeds that are needed, are brought into it from the granary; and these are shelled by treading on them and pressing them under the feet, until all the kernels are separated from the straw (*agkuláw*). The mat in question is called the *agaggíkán*.

To make the matter more complicated, a number of things have to be observed, on which depends the success of the whole business. Now let us see in detail what has to be done lest the crop prove a failure.

After a small amount of seeds has been made ready, these are placed in a basket (*la-bá*), and all further progress of the work is stopped until they have been blessed. The woman who shells this first rice and performs the blessing ceremony, is ordinarily of mature age, although not necessarily a shaman, and is called *mañodál*. The seeds having been gathered in the *la-bá*, this woman *maglubí*, which means that she mixes with them a whole assortment of objects, while reciting at the same time an appropriate prayer, for instance, one of those given above and addressed to *Pílay*. The following are the ingredients that are absolutely necessary:

Inapúxan, described before;
A piece of *landíg* or husk of a ripe betel nut;
One or more of the following:

Añlubí: A small herb with elongated brown flowers, that grows in the forest. In Bayag they use the *lubí*, a small herb with diminutive red flowers, that grows almost anywhere;

A section of *banatá* cut into pieces. The *banatá* is a tall herb, about two feet high, with large round leaves and fruits resembling those of the betel pepper; it grows all over the district;

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A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

A few seeds of *lańńá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disôl* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . ān*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *ańumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tari-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xádań*.

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243 722 *gaúén daàyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up, you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy[20] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 784 In the evening of the day of the *agalópat*[1], the woman, owner of the field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*áilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paranánay*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kóman* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 462 776 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassów* or bamboo grass, is *magsílsil*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsílsil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwó* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibirítan*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkukúr* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maxanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dúg*

[20] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1 [i.e., first planting — Analyst]

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243 The text of this prayer was given me by *Bǎydán* from Tawit (O
782 dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit
776 *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

243 The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *záni, zaniyán, maggáni*, are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *tazimmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggazáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparazǎy* [38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kómăn* has to be inspected by itself.

243 Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other
462 parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

243 The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *dazámi* (called *dazádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

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on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the reapers.

Besides her *ikó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *sapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtá-*) for making bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular purpose, are:

The *kawđyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasíñan*, differing from the *kawđyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *bđyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowit*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalixān*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*magbanán*) when starting to gather these materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

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Takkág liáān or ***kaddát liáān*** or ***kaddát iśáto*** (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned. 243 789

Talláʼ: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Taśtáś liśān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *sízăy*-hut. 243 462

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1] 776 782

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalád: *Inapúzān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúzān* in the *sízăy*-hut the next day.

Aśrizád: Increases the palay. Women often dreám about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnúd: Lives in the *sízăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimáń: *Inapúzān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time, in December. --Analyst]

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Tobacco leaves are always brought home by the women in huge baskets (*rańdya*), and piled up in some convenient place on the floor of the house, where very soon they will be submitted to further manipulations. When men carry tobacco leaves from one place to another, they make use of a *balitáń*, lest they spoil them. The *balitáń* is a device more or less in the shape of a hammock and consists of five sticks and a number of strips of bamboo: two St. Andrew's crosses (four sticks) are tied at the center to either end of a stick (the fifth one), and the strips of bamboo, running in the direction of the central stick, are tied at either end to the upper half of both crosses, covering the latter from one tip to the other. The *balitáń* may be carried on the shoulders or set down on the ground (only the tips of the two lower halves of both crosses touching the ground) without danger of crushing any of the leaves.

While the women are busy bringing in the leaves, the men prepare strips of rattan, which they cut to a point at one end and provide with a knot at the other, and gather a few poles of light bamboo or bolo (*manaxiagdĕrăyān*: to gather bamboo poles for this purpose). Then both men and women cut off (*maxánit*) lengthwise a section of the lower part of the petiole of each tobacco leaf, by means of an *aliwá* (hatchet) or an *ikó*-knife. Hands of tobacco are prepared by spitting (*magkásip* or *magtabbá-*) the leaves, at the reduced end of the petiole, upon a pointed strip of rattan, pushing them all the time toward the knot at the other end of the latter.

Tobacco leaves are hung-up to dry either in the house, under the roof, or else outside if the weather permits.

The hands of tobacco are hung (*magdĕrăy*) by the center on bamboo poles (*agdĕrăyān*), that rest at one end on one of the shorter tiebeams (the *sakkár*) of the house, and at the other on a pole that crosses the house and rests at either end on one of the longer tiebeams of the house. The hands are always kept at a reasonable distance from one another, so as to allow them to dry easily. They must be left like that (*dinĕrăy*) until they are completely dry (*maxáño*), because tobacco leaves that are not entirely dry (*asál*), get spoiled if they are piled up into bulks. The poles with the hands (*dinĕrăy*) attached to them are easily transferred from one place to another if necessary.

After the leaves have been thoroughly dried, and they happen to be too brittle to be piled up immediately, it is advisable to hang them outside for a while in the evening (*ilpáat*) so that they become soft.

The hands that are ready to be placed in bulks, are first taken off

the vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, [272]
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [263]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two, 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [778]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [533]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796
574